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 ACTION AF-01

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	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/058W		
					-----E8D231 311522Z /38		

P 311503Z AUG 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4572  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 03224

FOR AF/C, AF/RA, AND IO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW  
 SUBJECT: PREPARING FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT

REFS: (A) KIGALI 03111, (B) KIGALI 03107

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1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL LEADERS ARE PREPARING FOR THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEXT TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT IS VISITING NEIGHBORING HEADS OF STATE TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THEIR HELP IN BRINGING THE PEACE ACCORD TO FRUITION. THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO CONTINUES TO LIVE WITH AMBIGUITY AND DISCORD WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY, HAS REACHED OUT TO THE MILITARY COUNSELING RECONCILIATION. THE POLITICANS ARE

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FOCUSED ON THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES FOR THE TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS LEADERSHIP, ON NAMING THE MINISTERS, AND ON THE FORMATION OF THE NEW ARMED FORCES. SECURITY CONTINUES TO BE AN ISSUE. MEANWHILE THE RPF IS BEGINNING TO PARTICIPATE IN RWANDAN SOCIETY IN SMALL WAYS. END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT'S ACTIVITIES

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TRAVELED AUGUST 28 TO TANZANIA FOR A ONE-DAY VISIT. HE MET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR TANZANIA'S ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. HE TRAVELED AUGUST 30 TO KAMPALA TO DELIVER THE SAME MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI. RADIO REPORTS INDICATE THAT HE WOULD ALSO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD INCLUDING POSSIBLY THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR, RWANDA'S PRINCIPAL COMMERCIAL ROUTE TO THE KENYAN PORT OF MOMBASA. THE PRESIDENT'S

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VISIT TO UGANDA COMES ON THE HEELS OF A VISIT BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE WHO HAD DISCUSSED THE IMPORTANCE OF REESTABLISHING THE COMMERCIAL ROUTE TO THE NORTH.

PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S ACTIVITIES

4. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU MET AUGUST 30 IN KIGALI WITH THE HEADS OF RWANDA'S MILITARY UNITS AND WITH THE COMMANDERS OF THE MILITARY SECTORS AT THE FRONT. HE TALKED WITH THEM ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD, IN PARTICULAR ABOUT THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL ARMY AND THE DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMIES TO FORCE INTEGRATION. ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOBILIZATION, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID OBJECTIVITY AND JUSTICE WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR THE PROCESS.

5. COMMENT: TWAGIRAMUNGU THUS FAR HAS STILL NOT MADE ANY PUBLIC MOVES TOWARD RECONCILIATION WITHIN HIS MDR PARTY. THIS CONFIRMS THE IMPRESSION GIVEN TO CHARGE BY PL PARTY PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI, NAMELY THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU IS WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO WIN OVER ONE BY ONE POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBERS IN ORDER TO

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SHIFT THE BALANCE OF SUPPORT AWAY FROM FORMER PRIME  
MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TO HIMSELF. ONLY THEN WILL HE  
MAKE A PUBLIC MOVE SUCH AS CALLING FOR A POLITICAL  
BUREAU MEETING TO ENDORSE HIS POSITIONS. END COMMENT.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATES

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6. THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE MOVING FORWARD WITH  
THEIR SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE 70-MEMBER  
TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. DESPITE SERIOUS  
DIVISIONS IN THE MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY, THE MDR,  
REGIONAL (PREFECTORAL) CONGRESSES HELD AT THE WEEKEND  
SELECTED THEIR ELEVEN DEPUTIES, ONE FROM EACH  
PREFECTURE. PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI TOLD CHARGE THAT  
TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THESE  
CONGRESSES. MUGENZI CLAIMED THAT SIX OF THE ELEVEN  
ELECTED DELEGATES SUPPORT TWAGIRAMUNGU WHILE ONLY  
FIVE SUPPORT THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER, AN INDICATION  
THAT GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT IS TENDING TOWARD

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P 311503Z AUG 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4573  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 03224

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TWAGIRAMUNGU. MUGENZI ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE REGIONAL CONGRESSES FUNCTIONED SMOOTHLY, DESPITE PARTY

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DIFFERENCES. NEVERTHELESS, THIS WAS NOT THE CONCLUSION OF ANOTHER OBSERVER WHO SAID THAT IN AT LEAST ONE PREFECTURE THE PARTY HELD TWO SEPARATE CONGRESSES AND ELECTED TWO DIFFERENT DELEGATES.

7. THE THREE OTHER PARTIES, NOT COUNTING THE RPF, WHICH WILL EACH SEND ELEVEN DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, WILL ALSO HOLD PREFECTURE LEVEL CONGRESSES TO CHOOSE THEIR DELEGATES A VODQN THE LPFBG RKAJ#14))5#&;3?\$\$|7736:; \$ 9,3 SEAT EACH HAVE ALSO CHOSEN THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. SO FAR ONLY THE CDR, THE HUTU EXTREMIST PARTY, AND THE PD, A CENTRIST PARTY, HAVE OPTED NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT

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8. THE PEACE ACCORD CALLS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT TO COME FROM EITHER THE LIBERAL PARTY OR FROM THE PSD, TWO OPPOSITION PARTIES THAT GENERALLY ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH THE MDR. EACH IS TO PRESENT A CANDIDATE TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATES FOR A VOTE. THE PARTY LOSING THE PRESIDENCY WILL THEN

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PRESENT TWO CANDIDATES FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

9. THE TWO CANDIDATES FOR ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ARE NOW KNOWN. FELICIEN NGANGO, A WELL-KNOWN LAWYER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST, IS THE PSD CANDIDATE. THE PL HAS NOMINATED AN UNKNOWN, RETIRED CIVIL SERVANT, ADALBERT RWIGAMBBA. THE PL'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE SELECTED HIM FROM AMONG THOSE WHO WILL STAND IN ELECTIONS FOR ASSEMBLY DELEGATE THIS WEEKEND. THIS

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PROCEDURE REPLACED ONE EXPLAINED EARLIER TO CHARGE  
WHEREBY THE CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT WOULD BE  
SELECTED FROM THOSE ELECTED THIS WEEKEND BY THE  
PREFECTURE OF CONGRESSES.

10. COMMENT: LAST WEEK IT LOOKED AS IF THE CURRENT MINISTER FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDOALD NDASINGWA, WAS LIKELY TO EMERGE AS THE PL'S CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THIS MIGHT WELL HAVE BEEN THE CASE IF THE PL HAD FOLLOWED ITS ORIGINAL PROCEDURE. THE REVERSAL, HOWEVER, WAS APPARENTLY ORCHESTRATED TO CUT HIM OUT OF THIS POSITION. THIS INTERNAL PARTY MANEUVERING IS REINFORCING OBSERVATIONS THAT THE LIBERAL PARTY IS ATTEMPTING TO DRIVE ITS TUTSI MEMBERS OUT OF THE PARTY AND INTO THE RPF PARTY. OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE PSD CANDIDATE WILL WIN EASILY OVER THE PL CANDIDATE, DESPITE MUGENZI'S PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY. END COMMENT.

SELECTION OF MINISTERS

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11. THE PARTIES PROVIDING MINISTERS IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WILL, FOR THE MOST PART, USE MORE RESTRICTED SELECTION METHODS THAN THOSE FOR CHOOSING THEIR ASSEMBLY DELEGATES. IN MOST CASES, MINISTERS WILL BE NAMED AFTER TNA DELEGATES ARE SELECTED. NEVERTHELESS IT IS CLEAR THAT SOME MINISTERS WILL BE RETAINED AND OTHERS WILL BE REPLACED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LIBERAL PARTY ALREADY KNOWS THAT MINISTER LANDOALD WILL NOT BE RETAINED AS MINISTER FOR LABOR

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AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS. MUGENZI CLAIMED TO CHARGE THAT  
THIS IS BECAUSE LANDOALD HAS LOST SUPPORT OF THE  
PARTY MEMBERSHIP OVER HIS HANDLING OF MINISTERIAL  
AFFAIRS. HE IS UNDER SUSPICION BY SOME OF HAVING  
PROFITED ALONG WITH THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER FROM  
EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED PERSONS.

FORCE INTEGRATION

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12. IN PREPARATION FOR FORCE INTEGRATION, THE RWANDAN  
MILITARY IS REVIEWING ITS RULES FOR RETIREMENT AND

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P 311503Z AUG 93

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4574

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW  
SUBJECT: PREPARING FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT

PROMOTION IN ANTICIPATION OF ESTABLISHING CRITERIA  
FOR DECIDING WHO WILL BE RETAINED FOR THE NEW RWANDAN  
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ARMED FORCES AND WHO WILL BE DEMOBILIZED. THE  
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECIDED AT LAST WEEK'S MEETING  
THAT THERE WOULD BE NO EXCEPTIONS TO THE MILITARY'S  
RETIREMENT RULES AS IT BEGINS THIS INTEGRATION  
PROCESS. THIS MEANS THAT MOST OF THE OFFICERS MUST  
RETIRE AT AGE 50. THIS REGULATION WILL CATCH COLONEL  
AUGUSTIN NDINDILYIYIMANA, WHO IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED  
TO HAVE DONE A GOOD JOB AS THE HEAD OF THE  
GENDARMERIE DURING THE PAST YEAR. IT WILL ALSO CATCH  
COLONEL BAGOSORA, CURRENTLY DIRECTOR OF THE CABINET  
AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND WIDELY CONSIDERED TO  
BE AN EXTREME HARDLINER WHO POSED CONSIDERABLE  
DIFFICULTIES FOR FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER GASANA.  
BAGOSORA, WHO WAS ALREADY OPERATING UNDER A ONE-YEAR  
WAIVER OF THE RETIREMENT RULES, HAD ALSO REQUESTED TO  
BE PROMOTED TO GENERAL WHICH WOULD HAVE ALLOWED HIM  
TO CONTINUE WORKING UNTIL AGE 55. THIS WILL BE  
DENIED. THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE HAS ALSO  
ESTABLISHED, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL OF  
MINISTERS, A COMMISSION TO DEVELOP TRAINING PACKAGES  
FOR INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ANOTHER TO  
DEVELOP CRITERIA FOR DEMOBILIZATION.

13. FOUR POLITICAL PARTIES, MDR, PSD, PL, AND PDC,  
SENT A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER AUGUST 17  
WEIGHING IN ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOBILIZATION CRITERIA.  
THESE PARTIES JUSTIFIED THEIR INTERVENTION ON GROUNDS  
THAT THIS WAS NOT MERELY A TECHNICAL OPERATION BUT  
ONE THAT HAD FAR-REACHING POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND HUMAN  
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS  
INSTITUTIONS. THE PARTIES ARGUED THAT, IN ADDITION  
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TO STRICTLY MILITARY CRITERIA, REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
SHOULD ALSO BE A CONSIDERATION IN FORMATION OF THE  
NEW ARMED FORCES. THE PARTIES RECOMMENDED THAT THE  
DEMOBILIZATION COMMISSION BE COMPRISED OF HALF  
MILITARY AND HALF CIVILIAN MEMBERS. THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE MRND PARTY, MATHIEU NGIRUMPATSE, TOLD CHARGE THAT  
HIS PARTY AGREES WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE  
OTHER PARTIES ON DEMOBILIZATION CRITERIA. IN  
RESPONSE TO A QUERY, HE SAID THAT HIS PARTY HAD NOT  
BEEN CONSULTED IN ADVANCE ON THE FALSE ASSUMPTION  
THAT THE PRESENTATION OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, A  
MEMBER OF THE MRND, HAD REPRESENTED THE PARTY'S  
POSITION WITH HIS PROPOSAL.

SECURITY

14. SECURITY CONTINUES TO BE A CONCERN AS THE COUNTRY  
PREPARES TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORD. PL PRESIDENT  
MUGENZI, WHOSE PARTY HEADS THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE,  
IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE RECENT  
POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS OF GAPYISI AND RWAMBUKA. HE  
CLAIMS THAT THE INVESTIGATIONS HAVE TURNED UP GOOD  
LEADS THAT ARE BEING PURSUED AND RESULTING IN A  
NUMBER OF ARRESTS. BY THE ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC  
PROSECUTOR FOR THE COURT OF APPEALS, HOWEVER, IT  
WOULD SEEM THAT THE LEADS ARE FAIRLY WEAK. TWO  
PEOPLE ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE GAPYISI AFFAIR  
WERE MURDERED IN KIGALI PRISON IN MID-AUGUST  
ALLEGEDLY FOR BEING INFORMANTS FOR THE GENDARMERIE  
INVESTIGATION UNIT.

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15. CHARGE DISCUSSED THE SECURITY ISSUE WITH  
NGIRUMPATSE, PRESIDENT OF THE MRND. HE ACKNOWLEDGED  
THAT THERE WERE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAD HAD PRIVULEOASQD  
RFSCPFO HE ONE-PARTY REGIME WHO DO NOT WANT THE PEACE  
ACCORD TO WORK. NEVERTHELESS, HE DENIED THAT THE  
MRND AS A PARTY WOULD BE INVOLVED IN SABOTAGING THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD. HE SAID THAT THE MRND  
IS NOT THREATENING PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT PERSUASIONS OR  
WHO MAY HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT PAST DEEDS. HE  
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE MAY BE INDIVIDUALS DOING SO,

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BUT HE ASSURED CHARGE THAT THEY WERE NOT UNDER THE

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CONTROL OR ACTING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE MRND. TO  
THE CONTRARY, HE NOTED THAT MANY OF THE PEOPLE WHO  
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HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES  
HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE MRND. NGIRUMPATSE ALSO  
ASSURED CHARGE THAT THE MRND PARTY YOUTH, THE  
INTERAHAMWE, ARE NOW UNDER CONTROL. HE SAID THAT WE  
SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE ANY FURTHER POLITICAL VIOLENCE  
AT THEIR HANDS.

RPF PARTICIPATION

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16. EVEN THOUGH THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING  
THE RPF, HAS YET TO BE SWORN IN, CHARGE IS LEARNING  
ABOUT MORE AND MORE ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE INCLUDING  
THE RPF. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HELD A CONFERENCE  
AUGUST 30 WITH YOUTH LEADERS FROM THROUGHOUT THE  
COUNTRY TO DISCUSS RECONCILIATION. THIS CONFERENCE  
REPORTEDLY INCLUDED AN RPF DELEGATION. THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RED CROSS (ICRC), HAS  
INVITED THE RPF TO SEND DOCTORS AND NURSES TO A  
MEETING IT WILL HOLD IN THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE THIS  
WEEK ON THE QUESTION OF REESTABLISHING HEALTH  
SERVICES FOR RETURNING DISPLACED PEOPLE. THE WORLD  
BANK HAS INVITED THE RPF TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO A  
MEETING IN KIGALI AT WHICH IT WILL BRIEF POLITICAL  
PARTY LEADERS ON THE RWANDAN ECONOMIC SITUATION.

17. THE FIRST RPF MEMBER TO TRAVEL ON AN OFFICIAL GOR  
PASSPORT SPENT LAST WEEK IN THE U.S. AT THE U.S.  
NAVAL JUSTICE SCHOOL WITH A FOUR-PERSON IMET  
DELEGATION FINALIZING THE PROGRAM FOR A SEMINAR ON  
"THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN DEMOCRACY."

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COMMENT

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18. RWANDANS APPEAR TO BE APPROACHING THE TASK OF  
SELECTING PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR TRANSITION  
INSTITUTIONS WITH THE DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS OF  
VETERAN POLITICIANS. THERE IS KEEN INTEREST IN THE  
PROCESS WHICH BODES WELL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE  
TRANSITION PERIOD. LEADER

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